THE

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

DEVOTED TO THE ENLARGEMENT AND PERFECTION OF HOME.

VOL. III.—NO. 7. ONEIDA, N. Y., FEBRUARY 14, 1878. $2.00 per year in Advance. Single copies Five Cents.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

Published every Thursday.

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE.

One Year, $2.00; Six Months, $1.00.
Postage Free to Subscribers in the United States.
One Year to England, France, or Germany, postage included, $3.00.

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Single insertion, ten cents per line, Nonpareil scale; eight words making a line, and twelve lines an inch. Reduction for subsequent insertions. Send for special rates.

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WHAT THE PAPER IS AND WHAT IT IS NOT.

THE sub-heading under the title tells in as few words as possible what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST *is;* but to see how the object proposed in that sub-heading permeates vast varieties of discussion and information on Communism, Coöperation and all connected themes, political and religious, the paper itself must be read. To show what the AMERICAN SOCIALIST is *not*, we quote a passage from a letter received from a Shaker of very high standing in his order—in fact, a member of the Ministry, and surely a trustworthy witness for the point he makes. After reading the paper a year, he says: "I see that some are, as I was a year ago, misled by supposing the AMERICAN SOCIALIST to be the organ of the Oneida Community, when it seems no more to be the organ of that body than though such body had no existence. I have perused it with some care the past year, with others, and find it "first best" of its class. Of all the *solidaire* Socialistic organs, it stands without a peer."

A COMMUNISTIC PLAN OF SUBSCRIPTION.

Old subscribers express enthusiastic appreciation of the paper, whenever they say any thing of its character; but it is evident that the hard times are bearing so heavily on the tax-burdened people, that they find it difficult to spare a dollar or two for a paper they really prize. Now and then an able-bodied man writes sending a dollar and apologizing for not sending two to pay for a full year, by saying that he has been laying by that dollar, a few pennies at a time, for several weeks! Others, yet worse off, ask us to give them a month or two more in which to prepare for a similar payment. Such letters touch us in a tender spot, and we shall do what we can, without actually entering on the credit system, to help bridge over present poverty. In a few instances wealthy readers of the SOCIALIST have sent five dollars or more to pay for the new volume, the amount in excess of two dollars being intended as a gift to us. Such cases are rare, but they suggest a method whereby the real spirit of Communism might act so as to relieve poor people and at the same time extend the circulation of our paper, notwithstanding the hard times. Let every person who can spare a dollar besides his regular subscription, and who is interested in our cause, send the dollar to us with the name of some poor person to whom he would like the SOCIALIST sent, *and we will contribute the other dollar in every case and send a full volume.* That is, we will contribute as much, in this way, as all others will send us. If the sender does not know a suitable poor person who would like to receive the paper, we will, when requested, suggest one of the many who apply to us and state his lack of means. This plan is exactly suited to the genius of Communism, which teaches those who have an abundance to help those who lack. There are plenty of men who can spare a dollar for such a cause as this, if they can but be appealed to. The success of any such plan depends on the earnestness with which our readers themselves will advocate and make it known.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Communications for the AMERICAN SOCIALIST are invited from all friends of its purposes. Its editors, however, must be the judges of the fitness of articles sent; and they can not undertake to return manuscripts that do not suit them, unless the writers expressly request it and inclose postage money when the manuscripts are sent.

All correspondence should be addressed to

"The American Socialist, Oneida, N. Y."

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DANGER SIGNALS.

II.

In our article last week we pointed out in a general manner some of the difficulties which lie in the way of the Socialistic Labor Party schemes. Let us take a little closer view of one or two of these rocks ahead.

The attention of writers like Mr. Smart seems principally directed to the final results of their policy supposing it to be successful. Now all the questions raised in this discussion are undoubtedly capable of scientific treatment. What is the first thing to be done after raising a scientific theory? All experience answers, Test it with facts, or, if that is not possible, raise all possible objections to it and see how it can be made to answer them. The proper thing to do, then, in the case of the Workingmen's schemes, is, not to see how they might work after all difficulties were removed, but to look into what would ensue if an attempt were now made to put them in operation. What would be the effect, first on the workingmen, next on capitalists, if the scheme outlined by Mr. Smart in another column were actually begun in practice?

Let us fix our attention on the two essential points. First, the workingmen (by which we suppose is meant every body who has not the means to live without work) are to have work given them under all circumstances, for which they are to receive the remuneration which society can afford after eliminating all sources of waste. Secondly, the capitalists are to receive some equivalent for their property—Mr. Smart proposes to give them Government promises to pay, in the shape of greenbacks.

When these reforms have been effected we shall have one class of men without money, but with a certainty of having something to do under all circumstances—the workingmen; and another class with plenty of cash and nothing to do, the ex-railroad-presidents, bank officers, etc.

Now it is a subject for rational inquiry, what would ensue upon this state of things? What would be the effect on the character of the workingmen? What remote effect would take place upon the ratio of population to the means of subsistence? Into what positions would the idle capitalists fall?

The first and second questions might be answered together; for the carelessness and improvidence which would inevitably spring up, if men were sure of work all their lives, would lead directly to a rapid increase of population by early marriages, if the laws of health and morality were regarded, or to a state of dissipation and disease frightful to think of if they were not.

Mr. Smart and his co-workers do not probably contemplate any lowering of the moral tone as a result of the improvements they advocate. They think, and perhaps with some justice, that most of the debauchery, pauperism and crime which now help to hold population in check are the natural results of the down-trodden condition of the working-classes. Still there is a chance here for honest difference of opinion, and a close scrutiny of the new conditions might disclose the probability of changes in mental habits which would lead on to an actual increase of immorality.

Again, Mr. Smart says nothing of the means to be adopted to discriminate between different degrees of working ability. His scheme, when fully developed, may contain provisions for rewarding faithfulness and punishing carelessness and improvidence; but it is certain that if society does not have the power to regulate conduct by discharge from employment as at present, something equivalent to this control must be provided, or the naturally faithful will have to support a heavier burden than they do now. Society is a complicated mechanism. The waste and extravagance of the poor, as well as of the rich, add to the burden of the actual workers. The workingmen must look out that in disposing of the waste now going on among the rich they do not create an equivalent or greater waste among the poor. For no matter how much a workingman is paid, if he spends all he earns in waste, neither he nor his class are bettered.

But if we suppose that the new conditions raise the whole population to a position of ease, health and morality, we are not by any means out of the woods yet. The awful Malthusian law—too much neglected because partially misunderstood—stands ready to frustrate inexorably any scheme of society which does not interfere with early marriage or in some way provide a check on the geometrical increase of population.

Many things in the present condition of the world have tended to obscure the operation of this law. New lands and new colonies have drawn off surplus population. Improvements in agriculture and labor-saving machinery have even outstripped the increase of numbers. But this state of things can not last. The world is rapidly nearing a time when the available lands will be all taken up and cultivated in the best possible manner. This time may arrive before the workingmen get their new form of society in universal operation. How then can society avoid interfering with propagation? Ease, moderate work, certain pay, above all health gained by sanitary science, will certainly double the population in which these conditions exist, once in twenty years. How long would this go on before the amount which society could pay to labor, after all sources of waste were eliminated, would become insufficient to buy the bare necessaries of life? A universal level of starving millions is not a pleasant outlook, even though impartial justice were done to all.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE INCAS OF PERU.

POINTS OF LIKENESS AND UNLIKENESS.

II.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—After reading your editorial in the fifth number of the SOCIALIST, I am almost alarmed to find that I have made a rash promise that I feel myself incompetent to fulfill, and have raised expectations that are doomed to be disappointed.

It is one thing to be convinced one is right, and another to convince others of the same. It is one thing, even, to *be* right, and another thing to prove it. I fear that I am not sufficient of a logician to "demonstrate" that "a government which is to have control of all the resources of life," etc., will not necessarily be "at all *paternal* in character." The utmost that I should have promised was, to give my reasons for thinking that the form of government that will result from the adoption of our principles will not be subject to that criticism, but will be democratic in the full sense of the word.

The mere statement of the Social Democratic programme I expect to contain self-evident proof of its democratic and non-paternal, as well as non-Communistic, character.

The last number of the SOCIALIST, and the two or three numbers immediately preceding it, contain so many points of interest bearing upon my immediate subject, that I am sorely tempted to stop, even now, and try to gather up the loose threads that lay straggling around through your pages, with the hope of clearing the ground before me; but space and my promise forbid, and I will try to confine myself closely to the matter in hand.

Friend Bray did me gallant service with his last letter, and I shall have a supplementary word to say to him with your permission. I must, however, call attention here to his admission that, under the *regime* of Social Democracy, "as to the distribution of accumulations not essential to public use, the preferable form would seem to be through increased wages as we go along," and that "these *wages* are [will be] *private property*, as distinguished from the means for production." This disposes of his idea, as expressed in a former letter, that "*all profits will go to the mass*," and is the very feature in Social Domocracy that I contend distinguishes it radically from Communism and establishes its superiority.

One reference to your editorial, "Let us have the Details," and I shall be ready to make a clean start: When you say "We call that government paternal

which exercises paternal functions, *no matter how democratic it may be in form*," it is clear to me that we [you and I] do not understand the words "paternal" and "democratic" alike. To me, one is the antithesis of the other. They signify the two extremes of government. The one was the first form of government known to man—founded on an ignorant and superstitious idea of divine government; the other is the latest form of government adopted by man—the result of the evolution of civilization through centuries of development, and is in accordance with the growth of our knowledge of the supreme laws governing the universe and of the practical application of that knowledge to meet our necessities. The one is based upon assumed or supposed natural or divine authority; the other upon principles founded on reason and experience.

A paternal government implies the same kind of relationship between the governing power and the people governed as that between a father and his children, or as the supposed relationship between God—the Creator, and mankind—his creatures. It is simply an expansion of the patriarchal system. It was probably well adapted to the earliest stages of civilization; and, as all stages of civilization—back even to primitive barbarism—still exist on some parts of our planet, it is probably still adapted to such stages with such modifications and differences as varying circumstances and conditions have made necessary. Communism—in all that relates to economic relations—as I understand it, is an equally primitive form of association; indeed, I strongly suspect that it has always been coëxistent with strictly paternal governments, and has met with its fullest development under that form of society. I can not conceive of a Communistic association without paternal government of some kind; either that of a King, as in the case of the ancient Peruvians; or of some form of oligarchy or hierärchy; in modern Communism the latter seems to be the general form.

The Rev. Washington Gladden of Springfield, Mass., in his recently published lectures on "Working people and their Employers," speaking of the Communistic Societies of the United States, says—(p. 202)—"The theory of these Communities is, that all the members are equal in rank and influence; the fact is, I suspect, that one individual in each of them is the practical dictator, and the rest are only his subjects. There is but one man in Mormondom, and that is Brigham Young; there is but one man in the Oneida Community—Mr. John Humphrey Noyes; Shakerdom has but one prophet, and his name is Frederick Evans. Each of these is a man of considerable force; but these are the whole product of their respective Communities. The rest are nobodies."

(If this extract is unmannerly or otherwise offensive, please expunge it; I use it to illustrate the connection that I think exists between Communistic association and paternal government.)

Democratic government seems to me the reverse of all this. It is founded upon equality of rights, equality of authority, and equality of power. The one essential condition of its existence is, *identity of interests*. No truly democratic government has ever yet existed; nor can one ever exist until this absolutely fundamental condition shall be complied with. The Social Democratic system proposes to supply this condition; and to do so without upsetting—so far as I can see—the United States theory of government, and without introducing any new and important principle.

To me, the idea of a truly democratic government exercising paternal functions is paradoxical, because the people themselves are the government, and no man can exercise paternal authority over himself. A democratic government is simply the whole people acting in their collective capacity in matters in regard to which they have a common interest, and in regard to which they can not act individually without endangering their individual rights. A democratic government is not a government *chosen* by the people; they do not choose their *rulers*, they elect their *representatives* to whom they collectively delegate their individual powers, just as one man delegates to another a power of attorney. It makes no difference to the principle whether the people are few in number and legislate for thousands *en masse*—as in the case of a town-meeting—or whether they are 10,000,000 in number, scattered over thousands of square miles of territory, and they elect 600 delegates to act for them; the government is still that of the people themselves and not the government of their delegates. Nor is the principle in the least invalidated if they empower their delegates to do other things besides legislation; they may empower them to choose officials for the various departments of the public service; to impose taxes, to form and equip military and naval forces, to borrow and to create money, to declare war and to make peace; and, in short, to do all those things that our various branches of government, national, state, and municipal, now do, and any other things they may choose to do that come within the limits of the national sovereignty, and within the sphere of collective authority. All this exercise of power is the action of the people, and constitutes self-government. There is nothing paternal about it; and if the nation is truly democratic none of the functions of government I have mentioned can be justly called paternal. I think you will agree that this definition of a democratic government is, so far as it goes, correct, and the question arises, what are the limits of collective authority? Are there any limits? and if so what principle should guide us in fixing them? Can they at any one period be fixed for all future periods? The present limits of the collective authority of the people of the United States in national matters were, in the main, defined in the Constitution adopted a century ago, although some important modifications have been made since; such, for instance, as a complete revolution of the industrial system of the Southern States, by which some three or four millions of slaves were emancipated, and their value as private property, amounting to some thousands of millions of dollars, confiscated or annulled; and by which, or in consequence of which, all these millions of ignorant people—previously without political rights—were raised to the condition of citizens of the United States.

The less important matters subject to collective authority, left to the people of the several States, have been greatly modified from time to time; and new States with new Constitutions are continually coming into the Union, solely by the authority of the people through their delegates.

Now, if none of the functions at present exercised by the collective authority of the people are paternal functions, and if the emancipation and making citizens of chattel slaves was not a paternal function, which one of the several propositions of the Socialistic Labor Party, and the other propositions of my own that you have quoted from the first part of this article, do you consider calls for the exercise of a paternal function on the part of the government? And I ask further, which of them do you consider Communistic in principle?

The platform of our party demands that "the resources of life," such as land and water and their spontaneous productions; the natural agents, such as steam and electricity; the mechanical means of production, such as tools, implements and machinery; the machinery and avenues of transportation and communication, such as railways, telegraph lines, canals, ships, etc.;—to which I have added, all the products of labor during the various processes of production and distribution, shall become the common property of the people and be controlled by the government; the object being to abolish the control of private capitalists over the industries of the people, and to substitute in its stead national Coöperation with a just distribution of its products. Foreign commerce, the creation and issuing of money, and insurance, are of course to be included in the system.

It is hardly necessary to remind you that government already performs functions analogous to many of these, and some that are actually included among them. For instance, the government, state and national, owns and controls large quantities of land and vast bodies of water, besides rivers and streams; it constructs and improves harbors; builds and owns canals, railroads, tunnels, bridges, highways, streets, ships, store-houses and light-houses; it manufactures arms and weapons, explosives, water-works, gas-works and fire-alarm telegraphs; it establishes fire-brigades, public libraries, museums, schools, etc. It controls one of the most important means of communication, viz., the collection, transmission and distribution of the mails. In England, the government has recently purchased and now controls the entire telegraph system; it has also established savings-banks in connection with the post-offices. In other countries the government owns and works the railroads; and in others again, the mines and other important industries.

Are any of these functions paternal? Which are, and which are not? If none of them are, why are *any* of those we now propose to include among public interests? Is it because we are asking the government to do what there is no precedent for—in most of the cases—that we are said to be asking it to become paternal and Communistic? The railroads have become the chief highways of the nation: is there any good reason why they should not come under the same ownership and control that other highways are under? Is not the whole matter entirely a question of expediency or practicability, to be decided solely as a question of whether or not it will "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity?"

But the length to which I have extended warns me that I must stop, although I have as yet scarcely alluded to the Peruvian system, and have still much to say in regard to the details of Social Democracy, the methods of its operation, and the manner of transition. I must beg your indulgence for another opportunity next week. W. G. H. Smart.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY—HOW IT WILL WORK.

Editor American Socialist:—It is natural that you should wish to have an explanation of the details of the new industrial system proposed to be established by the Socialistic Labor Party. But these details will depend so much on the contingencies that may arise during reconstruction, that it is not possible to fully state them at this time. There are certain principles and practices in existing society that are good of themselves, and therefore applicable to any social system. Among these are coöperation, large capitals, the use of currency to facilitate exchanges as well as to measure the value of labor, perfect freedom to choose or change occupations, labor-saving appliances, and numerous other things which benefit the mass without injury to the individual.

It is not expected that the present social system will be superseded by a perfect social order, for society is never perfect, and requires constant advances, as we become prepared for them. The first object is to get away from the wrongs, tyrannies, and bad surroundings which are the portion of labor under the present system.

It is contended that the present structure of society, and its division into separate captialistic and labor classes, which leave the last dependent on the first for work and bread, necessarily dooms the working-class to hereditary serfdom and inferiority. The workers therefore propose, through the collective authority, exercised through federal, state and township governments, to become their own employers, and to free themselves entirely from dependence on any class. It is evident that this must be done by the organization of industry into coöperative bodies, governed by general laws in respect to hours and wages, which will do away with competition and class distinctions.

The masses having neither capital nor credit, it is proposed that the general government shall issue a sufficient amount of legal-tender currency to purchase by installments, and take charge of and control, a part or the whole of that fixed capital in the shape of mills, manufactories and workshops which the present owners declare to be so unprofitable. All these to be worked by the coöperators, for the public benefit, at stated wages, and products will be bought and sold and distributed through coöperative agencies, cutting off individual control and speculative extortions.

This reconstruction of society requires a corresponding reconstruction in our political government, and its substitution by a business government. The whole business of the nation can be supervised by half a dozen men, through state, township, and other subordinates, as easily as the management of an army, at a vast saving of expense. The currency issued should represent so much labor as well as so many dollars, the term dollars being retained to prevent confusion.

Now let us suppose that such federal and state business governments are established; that the present mills, factories, mines and workshops are kept in motion, with their present employees, under public home supervision; that all employed are paid wages as now, with the same liberty as now to change employments; that the public authority must furnish work and wages to all in need of them; that the products manufactured are bought, sold and distributed under like coöperative agencies; that on every article manufactured or sold there are put certain percentages for education, support of the infirm, and the numerous public necessities now provided for through taxation in some form—in what does such an advantage differ from the present system? Mainly on this vital point: plenty of work and abundant wages are assured to all, and the accumulations of the workers are retained for themselves, instead of being absorbed by capitalistic classes.

Every dollar of currency issued by the nation will receive for the nation so much productive machinery, buildings, labor or products. It is not a loan. The dollar is the representative of every thing it is or can be exchanged for. It is always available for the repurchase of labor or products. The nation becomes its own "boss" industrially as well as politically. No rights or

liberties of the people are infringed upon, while they are protected from the heartless plunder of each other.

The wide-spread moral rottenness of society may render severe punishments necessary for rogues and defaulters. It is easy to conjure up innumerable difficulties, but the grand inquiry is, Can the masses of the wage-workers through governmental Coöperation take care of themselves, and provide that abundant work and wages so indispensable to individual and national welfare, and which the existing organization of society can not furnish? Will the new organization relieve them from class serfdom, and the inferior and demoralizing serf surroundings they are now exposed to?

The new social order sought for is at the beginning only an expansion of the present system, with the destructive and demoralizing features left out. We are not fitted for greater changes. Plenty of work and satisfactory wages at all times furnish the groundwork for indefinite advance in all directions, because harmonizing antagonisms and putting an end to the wrongs that flow from them. J. F. Bray.

Pontiac, Michigan.

"If the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it, as a consequence, that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it—almost in an inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so in a descending scale as the work grows harder and more disagreeable—if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."—*John Stuart Mill.*

SELF-PROTECTIVE CLUBS.

Editor Socialist:

At a late meeting of one of the many clubs in the O. C. the paper which follows was presented for a topic of conversation. The chairman of the club offers it to the Socialist, as it was thought by some of the members present to contain the very solution of the great labor problem to which so many columns of that paper are devoted:

"The familiar principle that special localities are exposed to special diseases (examples of which are seen in the fever districts of filthy cities and in malarial regions every-where), may be carried up into the spiritual sphere. Persons engaged in special employments are liable to special spiritual diseases. For instance, we know by a great deal of experience and observation that persons engaged in official work, and especially leaders, are peculiarly liable to Diotrephiasis. [For the meaning of this word, see the next article.—Ed. Am. Soc.] But this kind of liability is by no means confined to a single class or a single profession. As every plant has its parasite, so there is proof enough to authorize the presumption that every class in society is exposed by its position to the influence of special evil spirits. As leaders are exposed to Diotrephiasis, so the old are exposed to the spirits that breed old-fogyism in all its forms; the young are liable to fierce attacks of insubordination; business-men are sure to be infected with the worldly tendency to "ways that are dark and tricks that are vain;" mothers almost inevitably fall under the spell of idolatrous spirits; lovers are liable to spiritual fevers in which they are awfully deceived and awfully deceptive; and so on. Now, if these things are so, would it not be a rational thing for each particular class to find out its special liability and form itself into a club or a number of clubs for *self-protection?* For instance, would it not be good for the officials and leading members in the Community to form themselves into a Club for the special purpose of keeping watch and ward against Diotrephiasis? In the world, that class doubtless forms coteries for protecting itself against the attacks of the commonalty, and so for perpetuating Diotrephiasis; but how much better it would be for leaders to club together to criticise and warn and exhort each other against their most subtle enemy—one which is far more dangerous to them than the assaults of the commonalty. And so the other classes named above, and many others not named, might form clubs which would be exactly opposite in design and effect to the usual 'mutual-admiration societies' of special classes in the world.

"Self-protection is undoubtedly the first law of nature, but self-protection which is so short-sighted and superficial as to make a business of protecting its own vices, really protects its worst enemies. Self-protection from the spiritual parasites which our position exposes us to is the rational and genuine kind, which we ought to cultivate and strengthen by class-clubs and every other means in our power."

The application of these ideas to the labor problem will occur to the reader at once. If each class, the rich and the poor, the capitalist and laborer, would form clubs for criticising, curing and guarding themselves against the vices peculiar to their condition, it would certainly make an end of the trouble between them. One class would cease to be oppressive, and the other would cease to be envious. Each would grow charitable and considerate toward the other, and the breach would lessen and lessen till finally they would begin to love one another; and love is the solution, and the only solution, of all the difficulties between man and man. R.

DIOTREPHIASIS.

St. John in his last epistle complains of a man in the church called Diotrephes. This man's disease was *love of preëminence*, or, in the Greek, *philoproteia—love of primacy.* This is a disease that deserves a special name; and we have been searching the Greek lexicon for the proper compound. It might be called *proteiasis* or *philoproteiasis*, or the *Diotrephian philoproteiasis;* but on the whole we prefer to designate it simply by the name of the man who was the most notable victim of it. We call it *Diotrephiasis.* In English it might be called the *preëminence mania*, or the "*who-shall-be-greatest*" *mania.* It is kindred to, if not identical with, *lust of office* in its more virulent forms. The *Presidential mania*, for instance, which prevails among high politicians in this country, probably sometimes passes into true *Diotrephiasis.* But it is to be regarded as primarily a *spiritual* and *ecclesiastical* disease rather than political. As such it has assumed in this country a very interesting type within the last forty years. Like modern *bronchitis* and *laryngitis*—the "ministers' sore throat"—it has become so distinct and virulent as to require a special name and special treatment. It seems even to be contagious and epidemic. We were told years ago that there were not less than three hundred persons among the Spiritualists, each of whom believed himself to be "the coming man," *i. e.*, the central medium of modern inspiration, and the predestined inaugurator of the "good time coming." We ourselves saw among Perfectionists, before Spiritualism was born, probably not less than a hundred victims of this disease—persons who suddenly became inflated with the insane notion that they were Christs and had the destiny of the world on their shoulders. The stages by which the disease progressed were sometimes curious. In a little clique of illuminati there would arise a strife to outstrip each other in startling testimony. One would claim to be *a* son of God; another, going a little beyond the first, would testify that he was *the* Son of God; a third, pressing on for primacy, would affirm that he was the *only begotten* of the Father; and the fourth would cap the climax by announcing that he was God himself, the very Father in person! We use the masculine pronouns in the above descriptions, but the persons engaged in these races were as often females as males.

We may laugh at these phenomena as eccentricities, or scold at them as blasphemies; but the truer and better way is to study them as diseases. These monstrous swellings of egotism have causes as subtle and as real as the causes of *goitre*, and are almost as involuntary. They are states of the brain and solar plexus affected by evil spirits, and though generally harmless enough to keep out of the Lunatic Hospitals, are actually forms of incipient mania, and often pass into real insanity. All Lunatic Asylums are full of patients who believe themselves to be sole potentates. In fact this enlargement of the *ego* is the most constant symptom of virulent mania.—*The Circular*, 1867.

SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES.

BY E. T. CRAIG.

XXII.

From the brief statement given of the condition of the people in County Clare in 1831, it is very evident the law was powerless for the protection of life and property. Want and destitution had made the peasantry desperate. The police force was defied, and the military display had little terror for starving men, while the Catholic priests had no moral control over discontented people made furious by famine.

Here was a melancholy picture of a fruitful land only partially cultivated, and an industrious peasantry unemployed; ignorant and brutal, driven to wild and demoniacal deeds of violence through lack of work and useful employment. Goaded to madness by centuries of wrong and bad government, they were now roused to fury by famine and showing the "dragon's teeth" with vengeance.

The only measures applied as remedies were military force, legal penalties, and religious influence. To preserve life and property it was deemed necessary to shoot down the peasantry and annihilate the producers of wealth! Fear and suspicion seized upon all hearts, and all classes seemed paralyzed.

It was at this time that the spirit of vengeance had reached the demesne of Ralahine, and the family of the proprietor was obliged to leave their mansion in the charge of an armed police force and seek safety in the city of Limerick. This circumstance prompted the proprietor, John Scott Vandeleur, Esq., late High Sheriff of the County of Clare, to carry into action a desire he had long cherished of forming a Coöperative Community on his property at Ralahine. The conditions of the peasantry urged him to make the attempt earlier than he had intended. But the difficulty was how to carry into effect the contemplated arrangement. He could not effect it himself, and he knew no one in Ireland who could aid him. He came to England, and was advised to apply to me to organize the people he employed into an Agricultural and Manufacturing Community.

Looking at the condition of the people then in the south of Ireland, and at the reports of murder and agrarian outrages in County Clare, I was doubtful of success among a people in a state of insurrection, and I requested a short time for consideration before I finally decided.

According to the opinions of my friends there could be little prospect of success with the people in their present state of insubordination and violence. My family were strongly opposed to the undertaking, and the possible sacrifices of future interests was intimated. I was not swayed by any consideration as to the loss of a prospective legacy, but I felt the force of the objections urged on the ground of the plan being impracticable, Utopian and absurd, because it implied a rash, perverse and obstinate spirit, instead of a calm and deliberate investigation of the conditions necessary to success. I fully appreciated the difficulties, but I had confidence that with prudence and perseverance they might be overcome. It was also urged as a reason for not undertaking the task that Mr. Owen had failed in America, and Mr. Abram Combe had fallen a martyr to his efforts at Orbiston, which had also failed.

These objections did not then seem to me well-founded, nor have they since. Had Mr. Owen made suitable conditions before he invited or admitted the ill-assorted adventurers from the backwoods of the far West, he might have secured a class of men who would have moulded the new members. But he failed from causes now quite evident and sufficient to account for it. The wild and uncontrollable spirit of the West destroyed the principles of agreement and association essential to success. Although Orbiston was begun on an equally unwise plan of admitting all kinds of ill-assorted people, yet the energy and devotedness of Mr. A. Combe had attained to a basis of success. But the remaining trustees, on his death, had not sufficient faith in the plan to allow of time for its development.

I had arrived at the conviction that association was practicable and desirable; and that if suitable productive efforts were sustained by intelligent agreement, then Community of interests would realize success for the advantage of all concerned. It was also anticipated that if successful in Ireland the example would exercise some influence over the movement in England.

On calling on Mr. Vandeleur, who was waiting for my decision at his hotel, at the corner of King-street, Manchester, and finding him prepared to carry out certain conditions which I proposed, being also strongly impressed with the frankness and apparent sincerity of his character, I consented to leave Manchester, and go to Ireland as soon as necessary. He thought it advisable to be at Ralahine as soon as possible, to prepare the people and the regulations necessary for the contemplated change.

On arriving at Dublin I was met by a messenger from Ralahine, admonishing me to be prudent in reference to religious questions, as all those likely to become members of the proposed association were Catholics. This was not an encouraging intimation, but it was better to know the facts than to be led into a conflict which was outside of the immediate problem to be solved.

In order to see something of Ireland and to visit Glendalough, the Seven Churches, and the scenery

"Where the bright waters meet,"

I made a pedestrian tour in 1828, through the County of Wilklow, as far as the Vale of Avoca, and was enabled to form an opinion favorable to the people. The situation, being in the neighborhood of Dublin, had exercised some influence through the intercourse of the inhabitants for many generations. Having visited the

English Lakes, I was somewhat disappointed with the locality which Moore's lines had made famous, but the kind and hospitable feelings of the peasantry were gratifying and encouraging. In traveling on the great coach-road toward Limerick, a stranger soon finds a marked difference both in the scenery and the people.

While Dublin had derived great advantages from the influence of the Government, and the energy of her municipal authorities, as seen in her wide streets and large public buildings, the provincial towns exhibited many signs of neglect, lethargy and indifference, presenting a marked contrast to the activity and prosperity prevalent in the north of England. At that time there were no poor-laws in Ireland, and a redundant population. Poverty, wretchedness and destitution seemed every-where prevalent. The great number of beggars was one of the most novel and deeply interesting incidents of the journey. Whenever the coach stopped to change horses, groups of ragged and miserable mendicants made their appearance, appealing to the sympathy and charity of travelers and strangers. Among them were women with children, and sometimes old and feeble men, earnestly imploring relief "for the glory and honor of the blessed Mother of God." If, however, relief was not afforded, then pointed personal allusions were made at the passengers, and sometimes with a rich vein of humor. One of the passengers wore spectacles. "Ah!" said one of the women, "can't the gentleman with the four eyes see the poor widdy and the two childer waiting to divide a halfpenny atween 'em?" A young man wore a cap with a lace band around it, and as he had relieved some beggars at a previous stage, he declined to give more, when one of the women said, loud enough to be heard, "Bad 'cess to him, Biddy; he's more copper on his cap than he has in his pocket."

On arriving at Limerick, I had the first view of the noble river Shannon, and soon arrived at Ralahine.

AMERICAN SOCIALIST.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1878.

The *Boston Commonwealth* gives our paper generous commendation in an editorial copied on our seventh page. The only way to express the gratitude and encouragement it gives us is to go on and make the American Socialist more and more deserving of its praise.

It gives us much pleasure to notice that many papers copy for the delectation of their readers articles from the American Socialist; but it strikes us as not quite according to the golden rule to neglect giving the proper credit. That is what a labor-paper of St. Louis did the other day.

"*The Star of Hope*" is the title of a new monthly paper we find on our table. It is published by the Esperanza Community, a body of ten or twelve persons located at Urbana, Neosho County, Kansas. Price 60 cents for twelve numbers. Its motto is, "All for each, each for all—united we stand, divided we fall." We notice that considerable is said in *The Star of Hope* about "Liberal Communism," though the term is not clearly defined. We trust that it will be liberal toward the great founder of a new religious and social life—Christ—as well as toward those who think it necessary to abuse him.

The *Spirit of Kansas*, in urging more general cooperation among the farmers of that State, shows them how they can, by coöperation, save $2,500 a year in the single item of agricultural papers, or twenty-five per cent. on the total amount of their subscriptions. Kansas in 1870 had a population of 364,399. Calling it now half a million, and the entire population of the United States forty millions, the same percentage extended over the whole would give an aggregate saving in the one item of agricultural papers of $200,000!

"A GIFT TO POOR WOMEN."

Every mail is now bringing us several applications for the American Socialist *free* for six months, under the offer we have heretofore announced; but there is still plenty of room for fresh applicants, as we have up to this time received only about one-fourth as many names as the fund provides for. It should be noticed that the terms of the offer are somewhat modified, the restriction as to sex being thrown off, leaving the offer now open to men as well as to women. See the letter on another page signed "Coöperation." Notwithstanding this modification, we hope the women who would like to read our paper and do not feel able to pay for it will be prompt to state their requests. If they are wide-awake and write promptly they can still avail themselves of this chance to get the paper free for six months. The names will be entered on a list in the order in which they are received. As this offer of the Socialist free holds good for only a limited time, we hope our readers will take some pains to make it known to poor and worthy women.

RULES FOR WRITING.

Now that a class of clear-headed, capable writers are sending in communications to us with some regularity, it is proper that we should offer them a few suggestions which will indicate our preferences in regard to the general form and style of such communications. We will do this briefly.

1. We prefer short articles to very long ones. No article should exceed two columns of the American Socialist in length, and those which can be condensed into one column, or one and a half, are yet more desirable. Still shorter ones are always appropriate. We commend our correspondent Mr. J. F. Bray, of Pontiac, Mich., as a good example in this particular. He comes right to the point, and knows when he is done.

2. It is not only desirable, but in the case of our paper quite imperative, that all articles and letters, on whatever subject, should be genial and good-natured in tone. Cross, slam-bang, waspish expressions of opinion are peculiarly distasteful to us, and articles containing such stand a poor chance of getting printed. In this particular we heartily commend the articles of Mr. W. G. H. Smart, of Boston. He is always gentlemanly and good-natured: never peppery.

3. We prefer short titles or headings to long ones. There is a great diversity of taste on this point. In English periodicals one often sees a heading occupying two, three, and sometimes even four lines, over a short article occupying, it may be, less than a column. Such a case is rarely seen in America. Although the heading should indicate the subject, it is not necessary that it should be a syllabus of the whole article. A short, smart heading in one line is preferable.

MR. TRAIN'S NEW PROJECT.

Mr. George Francis Train, according to the newspapers, has entered on a new and praiseworthy enterprise. He is undertaking to found a school in which people may learn how to be healthy and live long on the earth. Having leased the Central Park Garden, in New York city, he is fitting it up for a Turkish Bath, a restaurant with cheap lodgings, and a lecture-hall. From the stage of the latter Mr. Train will deliver regular discourses, showing that meat is not the best diet for health, but that people should eat oatmeal, mush and milk, wheaten grits, hominy, boiled rice, cracked corn, and buckwheat. All these dishes are soon to be served up in the new restaurant on the one-cent plan, and rooms will be furnished for two dollars a week.

But the best point of all in Mr. Train's plan is that he promises to furnish tickets to his new Turkish Bath *for fifty cents*, the customary prices in New York being a dollar, or a dollar and a half per ticket. This is exactly what we have been advocating for a long time—Turkish Baths at so cheap a rate that every one can have the benefit of them. Mr. Train says he is going to devote the profits from this first Bath to the establishing of others in different parts of the city, and he adds that "millionaires will be charged a $10,000 fee for cure in sixty days of any disease,"—these sums to be devoted to the same high purpose. Whatever may be said or thought of Mr. Train's claims to psychologic power, his ideas in regard to simple cheap diet, and especially in regard to cheap Turkish Baths, are worthy of all acceptance.

ICARIA.

We continue to receive documents from both parties in the Community at Icaria, indicating that the strife between them is in no degree lessened, and that recourse is to be had to the law. Indeed, already a petition has been presented to the Circuit Court by the dissatisfied members, praying for a dissolution of the Community. If the petition is granted it is likely to prove only the beginning of a settlement, which can not possibly be satisfactory to both parties, and will involve great expense. But if, as is claimed, a large number of the members of the Community are thoroughly dissatisfied, and determined to effect some kind of separation, and if all conciliatory means have utterly failed, *then a separation has already virtually taken place.* Compulsory unity is impossible in a Community. "A house divided against itself can not stand." It may be said that the Icarian Constitution prescribes the only legitimate course for seceders; but that instrument does not contemplate a secession involving one-half of the members. That constitutes a revolution, and the practical question now is whether it shall be managed by the courts and lawyers to their own advantage, or shall be conducted through the peaceable channels of arbitration to a fair adjustment of all difficulties. Something might be learned by the Icarians from the experience of the Harmonists. They had, forty-six years ago, a secession of two hundred and fifty members—one-third of the whole number. But they managed the matter among themselves; and though the seceders were given $105,000 in property, the Community passed through the great trial without dissolution, and indeed prospered more after the secession than before. The great love which the Icarians bear to the sacred cause of Communism should induce them to strive to honor it by every means within their reach, even in their present day of trial. Can they not part peaceably without calling on the Courts?

A SOCIAL SOLVENT.

Some claim that Religion is an essential, and all admit that it is a powerful auxiliary, to successful Communism. But why? Probably the common reply would be, because it tends to bind people together and produce harmony. But how produce harmony? By inducing all to live righteously and exemplify the golden rule in all relations? Yes; but that is not all, perhaps not the most important thing, that Religion does for a Community. Take human nature as it averages, even after some careful selection has been made, it has many hard spots that obstruct fellowship and tend to social inharmony. Religion comes in as a *solvent.* It can melt the hardest spots in a man's heart, and make him soft, genial, loving. No core of selfishness, egotism, pride, envy, hatred, can withstand its solvent power. Religion, or something that can produce the same results, is more essential in a Community than in ordinary society, because the members are life-associates, and any incompatibility has to be endured or cured. If two neighbors generate a repulsion toward each other, they can keep out of each other's presence, and may even put so much space between themselves that they are not likely to meet again. Not so in Communism. Hence the importance of some sovereign remedy for every form of incompatibility—some solvent for every hardness. We know of nothing that can compare in its solvent power with Religion.

TEST OF MATERIAL.

How to *succeed* is the question in forming a Community. One party says you must have a religous basis; another party says that capital is the first thing. One party says you must agree to live as celibates; another says you must make love free. But in choosing your members there is no rule better established by experiment than this: Choose men and women who have lived harmoniously together in marriage. Marriage is a sublime test of character, and it not only develops character but it always makes it better or worse. A man and woman whose love has outlived the honey-moon and survived all the temptations of close companionship as husband and wife will be sure to make good Community material. On the other hand, men and women who have failed in the partnership of marriage (and alas! these are the very ones who are apt to offer themselves first) are not very likely to be compatible members of a Community. A happy Community must be made up of happy private families.

Divorces are sometimes reasonable no doubt, but the fewer certificates of that transaction you have in a Community the better. There have never been but three in the bureaus of the O. C. since its beginning—obtained of course before joining.

The times are hard, no doubt of that; and many people are to find them harder yet, before that "let-up" which we hear so much of. But thousands of people could easily take out of the times ever so much of hardness. Here is the recipe: by simply denying themselves indulgences that are not merely needless, but harmful to themselves and their families. Sit down and cypher out to what an extent your own and your family's expenses for food, clothing, furniture, and the like, are regulated, not by common sense, fitness to circumstances, conscience, or even personal preference,

but by conformity to "fashion," the notions of others whose notions are not worth a second thought. Change all that. Save a handsome sum, and regain your personal independence. If the times still seem hard, seek out objects of beneficence that you *know* to be worthy, and devote to them half the money you have saved, and all the time and personal effort you can spare. In your new joy, you will soon forget whether the times are hard or easy.—*Congregationalist.*

THE "GIFT TO POOR WOMEN."

LETTER FROM THE DONOR.

F. WAYLAND-SMITH, ESQ.:

Dear Sir:—Yours is received telling me that a certain paper has given a scandalous and salacious interpretation of, and reflection against, the Community, about my acceptance of your terms to pay one-half of the subscription of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, to have it sent free to persons unable to pay for it. Your letter suggests that I give an answer over my own name and address, "to stop the spread of any scandal." But a published name and address often gives a person great inconvenience from troublesome and unsuitable people; and the allusions already made to my "personel" in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, must be quite plain to the readers of the paper generally, so much so that I have already objected to their plainness, as you know. But you may give my name and address to all editors or persons of known respectability who inquire for it, whether in person or by letter.

As soon as leisure comes I will try to send you a full explanation and justification of the restrictions alluded to. To prevent all further cavil, however, I hereby alter the restriction so far as *sex* is concerned, and amend it so that the applicants of either sex if married shall not be living in a state of separation from their consorts, without a divorce accepted by *both* parties. But I still adhere to the limits of the Eastern and Middle States and Ohio. I suppose that without some restrictions you would find more applicants for the paper free than could be supplied.

As a further explanation I would say, that I have a property capable of accommodating twenty persons more than the half dozen already here—that I desire to open it as a home on Christian principles of integral association, on the plan of simple families and with regular marriage, and on very advantageous terms: that women able and willing to do their share cheerfully in all kinds of housework are desired FIRST (otherwise how can the housework be done), as we can not have the common so-called "servants." Persons happily married will be quite acceptable, but there would not be employment for more than two or three men at present. Well-behaved and healthy children will be welcome when their parents will submit them to the association's management. Married persons with families and living happily are most desired by us, but how can we present inducements sufficient to affect such? Such are generally too well contented to seek any new projects or experiments. We can also make a place for a gentleman single or married, who is a competent man in a book-store and in hearty sympathy with integral association; also for one or two colporteurs of Christian social literature.

There are means enough at command to establish an association of 100 or more members without any additional capital, but a new location would have to be sought for any number over about 30. A prospectus of the department of the Boarding Home and School was published in the AMERICAN SOCIALIST April 19th, 1877. But the P. O. box is now changed to No. 2271. I respectfully suggest that you now republish that circular with this letter, but with P. O. box corrected, as here stated. We would be exceedingly happy if the public would present us with a medium of Socialistic or Coöperative publication, to which they would object less than to the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, but with as widely extended a circulation, and with as little of the slang usual among reformers, about capitalists, "tyrants and bloated bond-holders." It is a lamentable fact and comment on the American apathy to social improvement, that public men should bark in their mangers at that medium without presenting a better. Other information can be obtained by addressing

COÖPERATION, Box 2271, Philadelphia.

We append the "Circular" referred to in the previous letter:

THE CHRISTIAN COÖPERATIVE BOARDING-HOUSE.

Whereas, a higher Christan practical life than is usually found is very desirable and obligatory; and whereas, among persons who coöperate and mutually pledge themselves to rectitude to each other a higher Christian life is attainable, than is either practicable or obligatory among others not so coöperated and pledged; therefore, it is hereby proposed to organize a stock company, and establish a Christian Mutual and Coöperative Boarding-House Association based upon the following principles:—

1st. To organize and maintain a liberal, practical Christian hygienic boarding-house, wherein the objects of the above preamble may be sought, both for adults and children, apart from the follies, sins and ambitions of the world.

2d. To provide a home where children can be raised and educated thus apart from the world, virtuously, purely and healthfully, by organizing within the boarding-house, schools of all grades from the Kindergarten up, as the extent and success of the enterprise will allow. And the highest wisdom and experience should be used to train them so that they shall be free from the contaminations, vices and sexual impurities of ordinary society. Accordingly, the children would have their music and other recreations entirely within the establishment or upon its premises.

3d. Home industries should be provided for the children, especially housework and sewing, both by hand and machine.

4th. After sufficient success, home industries or home facilities should be provided for all the females if possible, or at least for all the young and the married ones who followed industries at all.

5th. Industrial enterprises for the adult male members are not contemplated, although, of course, a great success of the enterprise might ultimately tend in that direction.

6th. No more capital, nor any higher social position, should be required of any coöperators or boarders, than merely sufficient to guard against the liability of their becoming beneficiaries or weights upon the enterprise.

7th. A limited number of well-behaved children and youths, of school ages, might be taken to board without their parents or guardians.

8th. No person having at the time any disgusting or contagious disease should be received.

9th. No unnecessary noises, frolics, smoking, spirituous liquor-drinking, nor other disturbances to the bodies or souls of the better class of boarders, should be allowed.

10th. All adult residents should be avowed believers in a liberal, practical and reverent Christianity—in the teachings of Christ, and of revealed religion, free from the authority of any church or other society whatever, and in the natural sinfulness of humanity and need of Revelation, and in ITS power, by Divine aid, to make mankind wiser and better in this world, and to assist in preparing them the better for the world to come.

11th. No doctrine or teaching contrary to a liberal, reverent theism, or belief in a personal God, should be allowed on the premises.

12th. The location should suit those who join, and might be either *one* establishment in a choice neighborhood in the environs of Philadelphia, and thus convenient, both as a town and as a country residence, or else *two* establishments, one within the city, and the other somewhere near in the country, and to which nearly all the coöperators might resort in the summers, at least over the Sabbath, if so minded.

13th. The Board or Committee of Management might consist of two somewhat unequal parts; the larger part to be chosen by the shareholders, each shareholder casting one vote, for each share held; and the other part might be chosen by each shareholder casting only one vote, irrespective of the number of shares held.

14th. The profits might be distributed monthly or quarterly, in such a manner that each coöperator, whether boarder, or employé, or shareholder, would receive a share of dividends *pro rata* according to the amount of board paid, or wages received, or interest of capital stock invested.

15th. It is of course expected (although not necessary) that ultimately, in most cases, a boarder would be a shareholder, and sometimes also a part worker or employé, and would therefore receive of the profits the proper proportions for each capacity.

16th. Minor principles and details should be settled by the shareholders and coöperators in and after the organization.

17th. None are invited but those who desire both to communicate good and to receive good according to the principles herein generally set forth.

18th. All who feel interested, whether as workers, boarders, or shareholders, and whether for immediate or for future availability, are cordially invited.

Address, Box 2271, Philadelphia P. O.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Silkville, Franklin Co., Kansas, Feb. 6, 1878.

WM. A. HINDS:

Dear Sir:—Please find inclosed money-order for my subscription for the SOCIALIST and your forthcoming book on "American Communities," and if you are in a generous mood I would like a copy of Robert Owen's photograph. I am glad to find the SOCIALIST improves from year to year, and if all the Socialists in the country would only lay aside their individual crotchets for a time, and unite in a generous support of it, you could soon make it a *daily household necessity* for all who take any interest or are willing to make any effort for the improvement of their fellow-men. For myself I am a materialist, and of course find a great deal of matter in your paper that I take very little interest in; still I believe that you are taking the right course, and that my fidelity to Communism requires me to aid you in the dissemination of our general principles, which I consider of infinitely more importance than my individual opinion. I believe that the name of your illustrious founder will be handed down through the ages, as the greatest commentator that ever lived, and *that his body of divinity*, guaranteeing cleanliness (which is next to godliness), wholesome food, and comfortable permanent homes, will be appreciated by the present and future generations when—"war, with its million horrors and fierce hell, shall live but in the memory of time, who like a penitent sinner will start, look back, and shudder at his younger years." I believe "that our remedies oft in ourselves do lie which we ascribe to heaven. The fated skies give us free scope, only doth backward pull our slow designs when we ourselves are dull." Nevertheless I am willing to coöperate with all the instrumentalities available in the consummation of an object so devoutly to be wished for—"the establishment of peace on earth, and good-will to men;" "Love your neighbor as yourself;" "Lay not up for *yourselves* treasures on earth," etc. This all means Communism, no matter who said it.

I remain fraternally, WM. CHESTNUT, SR.

Cambridge, Mass., Jan. 31, 1878.

I have felt a deep interest in the SOCIALIST ever since it started, and have been well pleased with its spirit of enterprise so far. I think the articles on "Socialism in England" by Mr. Craig all important, and the selections from the *Harbinger* and *Phalanx* revive old recollections sacred to the cause of evolution. The biography of the members of the O. C. in the "Stories of Poverty" have a living interest, and I am only afraid that your good material may give out. T. A. C.

Calistoga, Napa Co., Cal., Jan. 26, 1878.

EDITORS AMERICAN SOCIALIST:—I have been reading the letter by Mr. Robert Stephens, of Avondale, and it touches a responsive chord in my nature. Some of your people may remember that I wished for something of the kind three years ago, when I wrote to the Community for information, and you sent me the *Circular*. Though I knew very little about Communism at the time, my heart beat light at the thought of living it in the near future. Then I felt the need of organization, with experienced persons to lead. I feel the same to-day, even though I have much more knowledge of Communism. Mr. Stephens suggests a very good way for us on the outside to get acquainted, and then we may be easily organized and make ourselves useful. When first suggested in the SOCIALIST, it appeared to me so proper that I at once sent my address, thinking it would help start the wave rolling; and now, while I am willing and anxious that age and experience shall say *how* and *when*, I want to add what I can to the work; and when we are organized and begin to look about for locations, may be I could furnish information of value to those who live in the West and such as would like to come here. At any rate, I would try to give information that would be found correct, so far as I could. From the mildness and healthfulness of the climate and great variety of fruits produced here I think Communities with a true afflatus would find it a pleasant country to live in. However, the essential thing is agreement; and a desire for the good of our associates put in practice would make any country more pleasant; so that it matters not so much *where* we live as *how* we live. I have thought of getting the address of a certain number and corresponding with them—with a view to establishing a Home here, but on a good deal of reflection conclude that the SOCIALIST is the true medium for us all. Living so far apart, and having special ideas or bents of our own, it becomes tedious to try to organize in that way—some of us need toning up, some toning down, some pruning here, and others grafting there,—so that it is truly our best and quickest method to sustain the SOCIALIST, and have the experience of good, practical workers in Socialism.

Hoping some such way will be thought best, we add our prayer "that some one will kindly volunteer" or "accept the privilege to devise means of placing Socialists who may wish to join the Great Community in communication with one another, with a view to the formation of local organizations or Schools of Socialism."

Yours truly, J. C. WEYBRIGHT.

STORIES OF POVERTY.

[It is good for the rich to see just what the poor have to go through. We have gathered from the members of the Oneida Community some narratives of pre-communistic experiences which we propose to present under the above title. Besides illustrating the distresses that are common among ordinary and "respectable" poor folks, these stories prove what we have often said of the O. C.—that it is not a select society of well-to-do people, but an average slice of humanity, in which all classes are represented and where the rich and the poor meet in equal comfort.]

X.

MRS. L'S. STORY IN TWO PARTS.

Part Second.

The following winter the times were very hard, and I could get but little work. Once I was entirely out of coal and had no money, or any prospect of receiving any with which to buy more. I slept scarcely at all that night on account of thinking and contriving how I could obtain some coal to keep my little ones from freezing. At last I turned my heart to the Lord and called on him earnestly to help me on the morrow. Then with a feeling of peace and trust I fell asleep. At about noon the next day a two-horse wagon loaded with coal stopped at my door, and the man who was driving called out to know if Mrs. L. lived there. I answered that I was Mrs. L. Then he said that Mr. G., a gentleman who lived ten or twelve miles out of the city, had sent me the coal fearing that I might be in need of some. Words cannot express my thankfulness for this unexpected and bountiful answer to prayer, for Mr. G. lived so far distant that the thought of applying to him for assistance had not entered my mind. Not long after this my rent came due, and where I was to obtain money with which to pay it I did not know. I prayed to God to help me, and the next morning when I arose I found that some one had thrust under the window-shutter a roll of bills amounting to just the sum I needed for the rent. I never discovered who it was that the Lord prompted to send me this aid. During all this winter I had so few clothes for the children that I had to wash and iron and mend for them after they had gone to bed at night.

As I became better acquainted with the people of the church many of them were very kind to me, calling quite frequently to see if I were in need of any thing. At one time the family which had been living in the same house with me moved away, and I was left alone with the children. I had not been well for several days, and when night came I had a high fever. I was extremely thirsty, but too sick to get up for water, and the children were too young to wait on me. I lay in considerable distress for some time, but at last fell asleep and dreamed that Joseph and Mary, the mother of Jesus, came and gave me water from a teaspoon. When I awoke my thirst was entirely gone. I felt as though some one had actually given me water, and the sensation was such a reality that I can never forget it. It was several weeks before I could go to work. Those were days when I had to trust God, and he was a true friend, never forsaking me. One Saturday night we had scarcely a mouthful of any thing in the house to eat, and I was wondering where the morning meal would come from, when we heard a loud knocking outside. The children ran to open the door, and there stood a man with a large market-basket on his arm, full of every thing we needed. He said the Lord had sent him, and during the remainder of the time that I was unable to work, this man or some other person came every week to bring me provisions. I had only my little girl eight years old to wait on me, but she was a good child, and I got along very well till Spring; then the doctor told me I ought to go into the country to recuperate. The church paid my expenses, and I went to my husband's grandfather's country-place and spent six very profitable weeks. While there I felt impressed to sit or roam about in the woods and meadows, and did so nearly the whole of each day. I thus soon regained my health, and went back to the city where I again took in sewing.

After my return I changed my course in regard to some things. I saw that I had made a righteousness of going to church when I needed rest, and I accordingly became quite irregular in my attendance, believing that I could serve God as well by spending my time in prayer at home. When remonstrated with I frankly gave the reasons for my course. I also became convinced that as a church we did not in any particular live up to the teachings of Christ, and I expressed my opinion on this point quite unguardedly. People began to persecute me and call me a Perfectionist, though I did not then belong to that sect. I became dissatisfied with the church, and they with me; so I left it and they "set me aside," as they called it.

It was not long before I became acquainted with a number of Perfectionists who lived in the city, and found among them many good friends, though they were not all true Christians, as the following incident will show. My supply of coal was exhausted one Wednesday, and I had no prospect of receiving any money to buy more until Saturday, so I thought I would go to Mr. G., a prominent Perfectionist who appeared to be quite friendly, and ask him to give me half a ton of coal and trust me till Saturday for the pay. "No," he answered shortly, "I won't let you have a pound unless you give me the money for it on the spot." "Very well," said I, "the Lord will give me coal." I went home, and sitting down at my sewing began to pray as I always did in such trying circumstances. In a few moments Mr. D. came into my mind as a person likely to help me. I hesitated about going to him, and yet it seemed as though he were the one that God had pointed out. While I was considering what I should do, a colored woman came in and said that Mr. R. had sent her to ask me to find a place for her to work. Then I arose and said, "I will go." I called on one family, but they had all the help they wished to employ. Then I said, "I will go where the Lord has indicated." I accordingly rang Mr. D.'s door-bell. Mrs. D. came to the door herself, and invited me very kindly into the parlor. After the usual salutations I said, "Mrs. D., I came to see if you wanted a woman to work for you. Mr. R. has sent me a good woman, and wishes me to find a place for her." I had hardly finished speaking when Mrs. D. sprang from her chair, and running toward me caught me by the arm exclaiming, "Why, sister L.! I have just got up from my knees where I have been praying to the Lord to send me a good woman to work for me. How thankful I am! Now isn't there something I can do for you?" "I need some coal," I replied, "but I can't pay for it till Saturday." "All right," said she, "Mr. D. shall send you some this afternoon." I thanked her, and asked if she had some sewing for me to do. "Yes," she answered, "I have three pairs of pants which I wish to have made for my boys right away." She gave me seventy-five cents a pair for the pants, and the coal came promptly in the afternoon, so I felt very rich in God's goodness. When Saturday came Mr. D. refused to take any pay for the coal.

One day I was entirely out of money, and needed some very much to buy bread. I took up my Bible to see what passage I should open at—as I had often found comfort in that way—when, to my surprise, I found within the leaves just the sum I wanted. At another time I needed some money very much, and lay awake till after midnight praying about it. The next morning Mrs. W. came to my room and said that she was awakened at about midnight by something which immediately impressed her that she must come and give me five dollars. I then told her of the experience I had had in the night, and we both believed that her coming was an answer to prayer. My life was full of just such incidents as those I have related—little Providences at every turn; and I may say that there never was a day when I was not sensible of God's protecting care.

After awhile I seemed to find my natural function in nursing, for the Lord sometimes gave me wonderfully good luck in taking care of people who were sick. One day a woman who said I had once saved her life sent for me. I found her very low. We prayed earnestly together, and then I bathed her in camphor and water. Before night she was sitting in her chair, and she soon recovered. Mr. H.'s wife was once so sick that the doctor had given her up to die. Mr. H. sent his daughter for me, and she had to hunt two hours before she found me. As I entered the room I thought Mrs. H. did look like a dying woman, but after her friends had gone out I sat down by her bed and began to pray. I soon felt that she would not die, and so stepped into the next room where her husband was waiting, and he said, "What do you think of my wife, Mrs. L.? The doctor says she won't live, but if you say she will, I swear I will believe you." "I don't think she will die," I answered, "and yet nothing but the Lord can save her. Now send one of your children to my daughter for some black-currant preserves which she will know where to find." These were soon brought. I poured boiling water on them, and told Mr. H. to give his wife a table-spoonful of the water as often as she wished to moisten her mouth. He followed my instructions, while I continued to pray during the remainder of the day, and the woman got well.

Mr. T.'s little boy was attacked so violently with the cholera that the Doctor, after treating him in vain for awhile, left, saying that he could live but a few hours. A strong instinct came upon me, and I said to the boy's parents, "May I take your child and see what I can do?" "O, yes," they answered, "if you will." I put him into a tub of water as warm as he could bear it; then, after wrapping him in a flannel blanket, I held him tightly in my arms while I prayed to God to help me. The boy struggled with all the strength he had, but I continued this treatment for more than two hours, when all at once he gave up and lay perfectly quiet in my arms. After holding him thus awhile, I gave him some warm milk and water to drink. He began to get better right away, and a few days afterward was at his play. I could tell many such stories of the efficacy of prayer in sickness, but perhaps I have said enough.

My circumstances gradually improved as my children grew older, so that when my daughter married at sixteen, our house was comfortably furnished with an ingrain carpet, some good furniture, and other articles of more or less value. I used often to pray, when in straitened circumstances, that, if the Lord willed, I might some time attain to a condition where I need not be continually thinking of rent to pay, coal to buy, and bread and butter to earn. That prayer has been for many years most munificently answered, though my mind was on the attainment of far higher advantages than these when I joined the Oneida Community.

CO-OPERATION.

From the Voice of Truth.

What times are these for serious, thoughtful minds, and more especially for large, warm and tender hearts! We see all around us the suffering poor; we hear their stifled sighs, mingled with their petitions for work—for leave to labor at any calling, however hard, however unremunerative, so that the loved ones shall not starve while there is all around them enough and to spare. There is no necessity for such a state of things, and why must it exist? We see, on the other hand, men overburdened with wealth, afraid to hold out a helping hand to these starving millions, afraid to risk the capital which, unless rightly used, will *certainly* prove a millstone about their necks when they take the plunge into eternity's shoreless sea—when they pass from the world of shadows into the clear and blazing light of the spirit world—the world of causes, the world of pure realities. This wealth they must leave behind them—"they heap up riches, and know not who shall gather them."

The founding of unitary homes upon a Christian basis, the basis of true brotherhood, or the encouragement of Coöperative colonization, would be a grand and noble calling for all who love humanity and wish to aid in a work which our elder Brother, Jesus of Nazareth, lived and died to inaugurate and carry forward. Such a life—a life of Coöperation—need not interfere with the comfort and privacy of home; and the general adoption of Coöperative ideas would immediately loosen the stringent cords which are now strangling the very life out of poor helpless humanity. O come, blessed day, when men shall love one another, when unselfishness shall take the place of greed and competism, when the teachings of the tender-hearted Nazarene shall sink deeply into men's worldly and selfish hearts, and transform this world into a heaven of love and happiness! Where are the men and women to go as missionaries through all lands proclaiming the blessed gospel of peace and good-will, and crying in heartfelt tones, "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!"

We sometimes fear that the ideas underlying the platforms of the workingmen's party are too aggressive and revolutionary for present practical benefit. But we are glad to see the Labor Question agitated, for the time has come when *something* must be done to alleviate the prevalent distress. Let parties try Coöperation in ever so small a way; let the pure, the holy, the large-hearted, clear-headed men and women of our land form plans and execute them; plans of wisdom, plans of love; and soon will come the year of Jubilee; soon will dawn the day of Pentecost; aye, soon will it "*fully come*," when all human hearts will be "filled with the Holy Ghost," when men will most delight in being "gathered together." M. D. S.

GOOD CONTAGION.

The idea advanced in a late number of the SOCIALIST, that health is contagious as well as disease, leads to thought on the general subject of good contagion. We are familiar with the word contagion as applied to disease, and we talk about the contagion of bad associations and bad examples; but the terms sympathy, influence, and personal magnetism designate nearly the same thing, and these are applicable to good as well as evil; and the more we study the subject the more we shall rely on contagion for all good, as we dread it for all evil. Grace is a contagious power as distinguished

from law. The law shows us what is good and sets us upon mechanical obedience, but grace works in the blood like a virus and makes us heartily obedient.

Christianity commenced with the phenomena of contagion; its spread and progress have always been marked by these phenomena; and its gospel is salvation by contagion. The development of the Kingdon of Heaven is compared to the operation of leaven, which is analogous to contagion. Christ entered upon his work in the *power of the Spirit.* What was that but contagion? The whole New Testament idea of the Spirit is that of a force working exactly like contagion. It was said to pass by the breath, and especially by the laying on of hands, to fill a house, etc. Christ performed his miracles by this force. He touched the eyes of the blind; he took the sick by the hand; his garment even was infected with a health-contagion. His moral and intellectual influence was no doubt of the same nature, working like infection in the system more than through any action of the mind or head. So only can we account for the marvelous changes he wrought in his disciples, transforming them in a short time from simple fishermen into mighty leaders of men.

All the preaching of Paul was salvation by contagion, that is, assimilation to Christ by conditions similar to those which attract contagion, by looking at him, thinking of him, receiving a baptism of his spirit, etc. The central idea of Paul's teaching is that our efforts should not be so much toward creating good in ourselves as toward putting ourselves in a position, or exposing ourselves, to catch the good there is in Christ. All the work of grace in the Primitive Church was of this nature.

The revivals by which Christianity has always made progress are phenomena in which good changes of character are contagious. Every body at all acquainted with revivals knows how catching the experiences are, and what a sensible atmospheric presence attends them, sensible at least as heat or cold.

At the Pentecost revival a contagion of *Socialism* manifested itself, so that in a single day thousands abandoned the life of competism and began a life of mutual help and support. Such phenomena authorize us to hope that the advance in civilization which is necessary to the spread of Communism may be a great deal swifter than the conservative scientists estimate, as contagion is swifter than the mere natural generation of disease. Those who insist that religion is necessary as the basis of Communism really mean that a power of contagion like that of Pentecost, coming from the highest civilization of the heavenly world, and spreading like a good cholera from heart to heart in this world, is the thing to be hoped for and relied upon in founding Communities and in propagating Socialism. J. B. H.

A TRUE SOCIALISTIC JOURNAL.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

It is said of Nicholas Longworth, the wealthy Cincinnati grape-grower, that he would give money only to those objects to which no one else would contribute. At one time a Mormon was soliciting help for his church, and the wags of the town directed the applicant to Mr. Longworth, who was glad of the opportunity to apply his principle in such an extreme case, and the apostle was not sent away from his door empty. We rather like this idea of giving every one an opportunity to state his own case and maintain his position long enough for us to discover how much good there may be in what he has to offer; and, in carrying out our plan of giving to the readers of the *Commonwealth* something that can be found in no other paper, we are frequently confronted in the way of publication with precisely the point which Mr. Longworth delighted in from a pecuniary standpoint.

For the past two years we have received regularly among our exchanges the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, which is printed at Oneida Community, an institution which is gradually taking the place heretofore held, in general terms, in the public mind by the Mormons—that is to say, both represent the practical, material and personal results of deep religious excitement; both have been driven by persecution from their places of origin; both have prospered in the face of the sternest reprobation of public opinion; both have advanced and practiced notions concerning marriage quite at variance with our accepted ideas; and we may cap the parallelism by stating the singular fact that the authors of these two systems are both natives of the prudish State of Vermont. It is only fair to state that the general tone of the later innovation is far higher than the earlier, and, therefore, so far as it is revolutionary and dangerous, the later is much more to be feared. What shall we do about it? Oneida Community is in the field, rich, calm, active, determined, and wonderfully patient. Joseph Smith flashed across the country with his untiring zeal and many strange ideas and projects, himself understanding as little of the power which possessed him as we do. He was another Mahomet; but the leader of Oneida Community is a scholar, and we can not deny that he is a Christian. He is an exceedingly able man, and is supported by a carefully selected body of men and women who represent nearly all trades and professions. What, then, is the best course to pursue? We have faith in the idea of Nicholas Longworth. The Mormon church, in the opinion of some acute minds, has always had more of good than evil in it, and the Pacific railroad has proved fatal to the most conspicuous evil; and we believe a good newspaper is sufficient to eradicate the heresies from the Oneida Community. Such a newspaper is the AMERICAN SOCIALIST; and we believe we are doing the cause of truth the best service by giving this publication the best notice that we can as the most advanced journal of radical social thought in America, and one so high-toned and able that we may not be ashamed to have it represent us among the speculative and progressive minds of Europe.

We have no faith in persecution, nor have we faith in those "cranky" systems of religious philosophy which would have never survived the first full and fair statement of propositions, but which have been built up by persecution alone and die out as soon as the persecution is overcome. If a man has some new idea, by all means allow him to print it and preach it as much as he wishes—aye! encourage him to do so, as the surest way of allowing error to quietly settle away unnoticed and unknown. There may be good in all sects, but there is unfortunately one noxious sentiment—persecution arising from superstition and fear. We believe the truth will bear its weight and can be trusted. We like the general tone of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, and occasionally quote it. Of course it does not pay, nor does it beg; but the business manager announces that two more full volumes will be published, and withal there is about it a refreshing show of grit in these hard times. The AMERICAN SOCIALIST is what it purports to be, a journal of Socialism, from simple Coöperation to the most complex Community-life, and its publishers wisely abstain from advertising what may be called their own whims, but attend strictly to their business of noting the advance of Socialism. The editors appear to be wisely and prudently seeking some noble end, and we cordially wish them the fullest success.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. F., Hudson, Ohio.—We think the sum given ($644,000,000) should be considered as the indebtedness of the principal cities only, and not of all the cities of the United States. Robert J. Walker of Chicago, in a paper recently read before the Social Science Congress, stated the indebtedness of 130 cities to be $644,378,663; and our writer must have jumped to the conclusion that this amount included all the municipal indebtedness of the country.

F. B. A., Prospect Park, Ill.—We have no further particulars about the Colonization Society forming in St. Louis than those contained in the article we copied from the *Echo* of that city; but the article promises "further particulars" to inquirers addressing the editor of the *Echo* for information.

RECEIVED.

THE NATURE AND POSSIBILITIES OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. A paper read before the Social Culture Society of Aurora, Ill. By Pierce Burton. Aurora, Herald Printing-office. 1878.

TRAVELERS' OFFICIAL GUIDE OF THE RAILWAY AND STEAM NAVIGATION LINES IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, for February, 1878. National Railway Publishing Co., Philadelphia.

RULES, ORDERS AND FORMS OF PROCEEDING OF THE COÖPERATIVE UNION, Manchester, England: Coöperative Printing Society.

REPORTS OF THE CHIEF REGISTRAR OF FRIENDLY SOCIETIES: Industrial and Provident Societies and Trade-Unions; for the year ending Dec. 31, 1876. Ordered by the House of Commons to be Printed, Aug. 14, 1877.

STATE REGULATION OF VICE. Regulation Efforts in America. The Geneva Congress. By Aaron M. Powell. New York: Wood & Holdbrook, Publishers. 1878.

AN ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS: How can the Idle be Employed? How can Business be Revived? How can the Situation of the Working-Class be Improved? By Joel A. H. Ellis, Springfield, Vermont.

REPORTS OF EXAMINATIONS BY THE INSURANCE AND BANKING DEPARTMENTS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, made during the year 1877. New York: S. W. Green, 16 & 18 Jacob Street. 1878.

ITEMS OF NEWS.

HOME.

Items are plenty and columns are scarce.

The banks of New York are turning their capital into gold as fast as they can.

Charley Ross's father has been summoned to see 573 boys, and none of them proved to be the right one.

Congress is terrifying us by talking about another income tax. Who wants to have it known that he hasn't got any money?

Think the Government will get out some bonds for popular investment, and then you won't have to put your money into a pit with no bottom to it.

What has Elizabeth Stuart Phelps done to make Gail Hamilton go tramping through her posy garden like that and stamping down her artificial flowers?

The lobbyists and peddlers and all that sort are now shut out from the spaces around the bar of the House, and the Congressmen will have nobody but themselves to blame for the noise they make.

Reuben R. Springer, of Cincinnati, has presented that city with a magnificent Music Hall, costing him $185,000, and he says it has taken all the Spring out of him to do it, and he shan't help any more.

The two well-known firms of H. O. Houghton & Co. and J. R. Osgood & Co. have effected a union under the name of Houghton, Osgood & Co.: thus bringing the book-maker and the book-seller into one concern.

The Democrats of Louisiana have succeeded in convicting Anderson for alleged alterations in the famous Vernon Parish returns for Presidential electors. It looks malignant, and will do them no good, as we can see.

The Senate has bestirred itself at last and confirmed a lot of Presidential appointments. The President had begun to wonder how he or the country was ever going to do any thing with such a deliberate body as that.

The *St. Louis Republican* has discovered that eighteen out of the thirty-nine States in the Union are on the banks of the Mississippi and its two tributaries; and yet that don't make the Father of Waters run in the right direction.

McClosky has taken his red hat and started for Rome. He can not get there till the conclave has been nearly a week in session. If they should make him a Pope do you suppose we could get any of the nineteenth century into him?

When a city politician full of beer, beef, and good things proposes to cut down the salaries of school teachers, we "eddicated fellers" like to goad him with our old steel pens and tell him that his skin is not a bit finer than saddle-leather.

If you are a minister and want to keep in the current, then you must deliver one sermon on hell. They all do it. The Rev. Charles Beecher has eliminated that place from his geography, and is now said to be preaching a series of Universalist sermons.

Dr. J. S. Wright, of Brooklyn, has studied the matter till he has come to the conclusion that not over one person in three has legs of equal length, and that there are about twice as many left legs as right legs of extra length. The average superiority of one leg over the other is about a quarter of an inch.

The Bank of North America had a brace of tellers sharp enough to embezzle $100,000 and keep it hid nine years from seventeen nosing, wolfish inspectors. Finally a Lamb of a man came along to examine their bank affairs, and Mr. Paying Teller owned up after having the affair pointed out to him, we suppose.

Seventy-five business men from the South have gone on a visit to the Bahamas, to see what can be done to open trade between those islands and the Southern and Western States. That is the way to do. Just sell your old pistols, raise a good lot of stuff to peddle, evolute into something new, and paint your house white as we do.

Mr. Blaine has struck a blow for silver which made every thing jingle. His scheme is to have a dollar of 425 grains, the profits of coinage to go to the Government, and coin certificates based on coin or bullion deposited with the assistant Treasurer at New York, these certificates to be in various denominations and to be redeemable in silver, and to be used for a paper curreney.

Here is an anecdote which Schuyler Colfax tells of Mr. Lincoln: "None except those intimately associated with the President understood how heavily the distress of the nation weighed upon him; yet, outside of a limited circle of friends, he was always ready with a story or his joke. Once, at a time when those seeking place had been particularly harrassing him, he was stricken down by the small-pox at the White House. "Now tell the office-seekers," he said, with something of his old tone, "to come and see me, for I've something to give them at last."

Prof. Max Müller is at the tremendous task of translating the principal Bibles of the East into the languages of Europe. If he can produce from them any better poetry than the "Song of Solomon" we want to see it. Homer was over a hundred and fifty years later than Solomon, and he had to choose a different strain to any way distinguish himself and sell his article. He indeed succeeded in monopolizing a great many of the sublimities, and in making his characters talk as if they were sixty feet high; but for all that Solomon got the best hold on the modern heart.

Grandpa Strohl, of Mauch Chunk, Pa., is 76 years old. He has had three wives—the old blue-beard—and 37 children, of whom 30 are living; the youngest is only three years old; 19 are married and have families averaging eight children apiece. At a late family meeting, 200 of these folks just Strohlled in to look one another in the face and have a jolly time. What do you suppose they would have said to old Malthus, with his strange idea that population is constantly pressing on the means of subsistence and has to be kept down by prudential restraints, or else by war, pestilence and famine.

Gen. John Cochrane calls in question the accuracy of Frothingham's "Life of Gerrit Smith" where it implicates Mr. Smith in the affairs of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. The biographer replies: "The massive evidence bearing on that interesting passage in the anti-slavery conflict is unfortunately out of reach, having been, so far as possible destroyed, in order to clear Brown's accomplices from arrest

and penalty. The history must, therefore, be reconstructed from documentary fragments, notes, memoranda, personal recollections of survivors, quite sufficient, however, to establish the chief points and indicate the connecting details." Horace White comes to the aid of Mr. Frothinghan, saying that he has a lot of evidence, including the testimony of John Brown, Jr., and Frederick Douglass, which he considers conclusive, and will produce if necessary. In regard to the honor or shame of that affair of Old John Brown at Harper's Ferry, we always thought that F. B. Sanborn did a handsome thing in acknowledging his and Col. Higginson's connection with it. Fred. Douglass now comes to the help of Gen. Cochrane, declaring that he has a distinct recollection that Brown told him that Gerrit Smith had no knowledge of his intended raid, but only believed that he was going to run off slaves as he had done in Kansas.

FOREIGN.

There isn't a madder man in all Europe than John Bull just now.

The Greeks began their war on Saturday and ended it the next Wednesday.

The Pope is dead—died at x o'clock in the afternoon, Thursday, the 7th.

St. Helena is running down: The sailors go to India by the way of the Suez Canal and have left her all forlorn.

England gets more wheat from starving India than she does from all the United States east of the Rocky Mountains.

The idea of having an inter-oceanic canal at the Isthmus of Darien is not given up yet. Lieut. Wyse is still at work upon the surveys.

The German Reichstag has got up and asked the Imperial Chancellor whether he is going to let them know any thing about the Eastern question.

England began by luring the Turk on to destruction, and now it looks as if the Turk meant to get out of the mess in time to see England fall into the same pit.

The Czar ought to be satisfied with his record—the poor, melancholy man. He has emancipated 40,000,000 of serfs and taken Constantinople, the key of his empire.

China has put in her demand for a renewal of tribute from Siam. The latter declared her independence in 1852, and is now preparing to fight before she consents to pay any tribute.

The Catholic powers will be observant of those red-hatted Cardinals when they go into conclave to elect a new Pope—will see to it that we are not made to take any bogus successor of Saint Peter—of course they will.

The Czar of all the Russians has been telling his troops that he has lost about 90,000 men, and that "they are still far from the end" and must keep a "good ready" until he has had secured a solid and enduring peace.

The news that the Russians were in Constantinople gave England such a shock that the Liberals relented in their opposition, and the supplementary credit was at once voted by an overwhelming majority of 328 to 124.

The Trades Unions, Friendly Societies, Provident Societies, Industrial Societies and Building Societies, of the United Kingdom, have a total membership of 4,131,374; the total amount of their funds being £28,662,888.—*Report of Chief Registrar.*

A Holland merchant said lately that not only did the Dutch import leather from the United States, but that they had also begun to import New England shoes, and that European manufacturers can not compete either in price or quality with Americans.

Stanley has arrived in London, where he is likely to be a regular African lion. Lord Houghton has advised him not to be angry with that little knot of Englishmen who thought he was very wicked for not letting himself be killed by the negroes on the Lualaba and Congo.

The British men-of-war, Alexandria, Temeraire, Ruby, Salamis and Achilles, have been ordered to Constantinople. Mr. Layard, the English Minister, will ask the Porte's permission for those vessels to pass the forts on the Hellespont. Guess the Turk will have to ask the Russian before he opens that front door.

You mustn't think that the work of evolution will go any faster or any slower now that the Pope is dead. If it is your business to peck at the giant wrong, why, keep right on pecking. If it is your job to build up the good and true, why, load up another hod of bricks and carry it up the long ladder to the top of the house. "More mort!"

That railway which is building in Brazil is just here: You go up the Amazon 1,000 miles till you come to the Madeira river; then you sail up that till you come to the rapids; then you make 180 miles of railroad, which brings you to another navigable part of the river; then you sail away southward and tap the resources of Bolivia.

At the last annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, the President said in regard to the dull times and foreign competition: "Germany, Austria, Italy and Holland had lessened their imports of woolen goods, while Belgium was so nearly our equal that it had sent both woven goods and yarns into Great Britain for several years. America has gained yearly upon us, her exports of cotton goods to this country having increased from £15,890 in 1870 to £451,876 in 1876."

A writer in the "*Fortnightly*" tells us that Guizot, the French statesman and scholar, was a great novel reader, but that he seldom or never read French or German stories. "My delight," said he, "is to read English novels, particularly those written by women. *C'est tout une école de morale.* Miss Austen, Miss Ferrier, Charlotte Bronté, George Elliot, Mrs. Gaskell, and many others almost as remarkable, form a school which, in the excellence, the profusion and the contemporaneousness of its productions, resembles the cloud of dramatic poets of the great Athenian Age."

The *Graphic* of February 9th has the pictures of all the Roman Pontiffs from Saint Peter to the dead Pius IX.,—261 in all, after leaving out Peter, who would not perhaps feel very much honored by the company he is in. Two hundred and sixty-one notable faces, whoever they may have belonged to; all having immense, aggressive, authoritative noses. So big and so exaggerated in most instances as to give one the idea that the whole lower face has been enlarged to make room for that awful feature. Old Romans, every one of them; indeed one hundred and ninety-four of them have noses of the most pronounced Roman type. They make one believe, with a writer in the *Atlantic* for February, that races never die out on their native sites, however much they may seem to disappear or to be conquered. Looking at these powerful faces—we have no presidents or senators like them—one is ready to ask whether the real blood and breed of ancient Rome is not governing us still.

It is safe to say that those old heads and diplomats over there in Europe won't let out their counsels to us any faster than good parents do to their children. It is barely possible that we have been made acquainted with all the peace preliminaries which had to be agreed to before an armistice could be granted. No one at the present moment pretends to know just what those preliminaries are. That we were not told all is certain, for the Russians kept moving right on until now they occupy the Turkish lines of defence around Constantinople, and are in substantial possession of that city together with Gallipoli and points on the Sea of Marmora. Erzeroum has been given up to the Russians, and the Turkish troops in Rustchuck and Silistria are to withdraw to Shumla and Varna. We shall soon hear that the first two places are occupied by the Russians. Widdin and Belgradjik are also to be surrendered to the conquering army. Telegraphic communications have been reöpened between Adrianople and Odessa. The Turkish gun-boats in the Danube have been surrendered, and free commercial relations between the belligerents have been resumed. It is believed that Turkey and Russia have entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive. The place of meeting for the European conference is not yet known, though 'tis quite certain that Vienna is not liked by the Russians.

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